

DISPATCH

CLASSIFICATION
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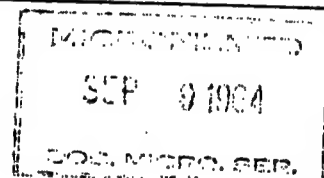
PROCESSING

TO	Deputy Chief, WH/SA	PROPOSED	ACTION	ACCOMPLISHED
INFO.		XXX	MARKED FOR INDEXING	
FROM	Chief of Station, JMWAVE		NO INDEXING REQUIRED	
SUBJECT	TYPIC Operational AMTRUNK-1		ONLY QUALIFIED HEADQUARTERS DESK CAN JUDGE INDEXING	
			ABSTRACT	
			MICROFILM	

ACTION REQUIRED - REFERENCES

Action Required: For your information.

References: A. UFGW-2601, 16 October 1963
B. UFGW-3377, 16 March 1964



1. Forwarded as a separate attachment is a review of Subject case which sets forth the extra curricular activities of Subject, which appear to be incompatible with his position as an ODYOKE employee.

2. Subject case leads to no definite conclusions regarding any RIS affiliation, though we feel that Subject continues to bear watching in this connection. There does, however, appear to be some evidence that Subject may be using his position with local QKFLOWAGE to assist exile groups and for personal financial gain. If he is a paid stringer for the New York Times, as our information indicates, and, if he has been providing information to both the Times and to JURE based on his access to QKFLOWAGE materials and contacts, then it would appear that an early inquiry into his activities by QKFLOWAGE Headquarters is indicated. As pointed out in the attachment, both the local QKFLOWAGE and ODACID representatives have expressed certain reservations and misgivings concerning Subject's activities to the COS, JMWAVE. Under such circumstances, Headquarters may wish to bring certain portions of the attachment to the attention of QKFLOWAGE for appropriate action.

Joan D. Argyriondi

for ANDREW K. REUTEMAN

Attachment: 1
Under Separate Cover

SA att'd
Distribution:
3 - DC, WH/SA w/att. USC

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INDEX-X

CROSS REFERENCE TO

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

CLASSIFICATION
S-E-C-R-E-T

DATE TYPED	DATE DISPATCHED
20 Aug 1964	AUG 24 1964
DISPATCH SYMBOL AND NUMBER	
UFGA-17410	
HEADQUARTERS FILE NUMBER	
201-352252	

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Separate Cover Attachment to UFGA-17410

SUBJECT: Jorge VOLSKY aka Jerzy Stakistaw AJBUSZYC aka Chico

1. Introduction

Jorge VOLSKY is a Cuban citizen of Polish origin, now a permanent U.S. resident, who is currently employed by the USIA office in Miami as editor of the USIA Weekly Report on Cuban Developments. VOLSKY came to the attention of JMWAVE because of his extra-curricular activities which appear to be incompatible with his position as an employee of the U.S. Government. A conflict of interests appears to have developed in VOLSKY's case as a result of his position in the USIA office in Miami, his access to various high-level Cuban refugees, his close association with prominent American journalists (one of whom had an entree to high members of the Kennedy Administration), and his involvement in propaganda activities for both the JURE and the UR counterrevolutionary groups. Analysis shows that he has used his USIA position to obtain information for a leftist political group, has engaged in anti-US propaganda campaigns for it, and may be guilty of duplicity in his dealings with KUBARK. VOLSKY is a Cuban citizen of Polish origin whose background includes a two or three year period in a Russian prison camp. Because of this background and the nature of his present political activities, the following compilation and analysis of the material currently available to JMWAVE concerning VOLSKY are deemed necessary and are hereby presented as a prerequisite to the determination of the future course of action to be taken by KUBARK in this case.

2. Original JMWAVE Operational Interest in Subject

a. Jorge VOLSKY first became of interest to KUBARK in February 1963 when it was learned that he was the source of an anti-CASTRO plan known as Operational Leonardo designed to split the Cuban Regime by the recruitment of certain elements of the Rebel Army and Militia in the GOC. This plan had been presented to ODACID through Tad SZULC, editorial writer of the New York Times Washington Office, and ODACID sent it for action to KUBARK Headquarters.

b. The disclosure of Jorge VOLSKY as the originator of Operation Leonardo came about when a KUBARK case officer contacted SZULC at his home in Washington concerning the plan. SZULC was reluctant at first to reveal the name of the author but did so when the case officer pointed out that it was necessary for KUBARK to talk to the source in order to clear up various points. SZULC, stating that he would rely on KUBARK's discretion to safeguard the identity of his source, named Jorge VOLSKY of the USIA in Miami. SZULC related a short biographic sketch of VOLSKY in which it was revealed that during World War II, VOLSKY, a Pole, had been a prisoner of war in Russia.

c. At Headquarters' request JMWAVE contacted Jorge VOLSKY and made arrangements to sponsor his plan which involved Cuban infiltration/exfiltration ops. It was the intention of KUBARK to use VOLSKY only as a funding channel for the operation; however, because of the Station's belief that the operation's team would inform VOLSKY in detail about operational matters, a POA was requested on him. A request was also made that Headquarters check on VOLSKY's activities prior to his arrival in Cuba. Locally the AMOTs were requested to provide information on Subject's activities in Cuba.

3. Polish Background Prior to Cuba

Using the information subsequently made available to the Station by Subject in his PRQ Part I, submitted to JMWAVE March 1963 and the Headquarters trace reply (Reference A) which includes information contained in Royal Air Force and Polish exile records in London and information on Subject recently solicited from various JMWAVE assets,

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the following is an account and analysis of Subject's life up to his entrance into Cuba in November 1947.

a. In his PRQ Part I Subject lists his full name as Jorge Stakistaw Ajbuszyc VOLSKY Kraislner, born 8 March 1921 in Warsaw, Poland. He lists his parents as Josef A. VOLSKY Zascycki, an engineer, and Maria KRAISLER Madeirka, a medical doctor, both deceased.

b. (Education) VOLSKY's PRQ states that his education consists of high school attended in Krakow from 1930 to 1938 and one year of medical school at a University in Krakow.

(1) USIA records (information supplied by Subject) agree with the above, showing that he attended the St. Anna Lyceum in Krakow from 1930 to 1938 and the Jagiellon University in Krakow from 1938 to 1939.

(2) The Headquarters trace reply which included a London Station check of the Royal Air Force and Polish exile World War II records, however, did not mention his attendance at the Jagiellon University, stating only that Subject matriculated in 1939 in the St. Staszic Humanistic College in Chrzanow. (WAVE comment: Chrzanow is West Krakow, 27 miles WNW of Krakow.)

c. World War II Service

(1) VOLSKY claims in his PRQ that during the years 1939 to 1947 he served in the Royal Air Force Polish Group, Serial number 705740, rank: Officer - Cadet, Private Flight Sergeant. In a different section of the PRQ he also states that he was a prisoner of war in Russia (1939 to 1941). This is an obvious contradiction within the PRQ itself that requires clarification.

(2) The RAF and Polish exile check (Reference A) mentioned above confirmed service in the Royal Air Force for a person with the name of Jerzy Stanislaw AJBUSZYC (the first three names of Subject) DOB: 8 March 1921, Serial number 705740 with rank: Leading Aircraftman Radio Telephone Operator. This record which is obviously that of Subject showed that on 19 June 1942, while in the USSR, he enrolled in the Polish Army Service where he served for one year until 30 June 1943 and then enlisted in the Polish Air Force Service under the British Operational Command on 1 July 1943 and served until 27 July 1947 when he was discharged at his own request and emigrated to Ecuador. The Polish exile representative further noted in Reference A that in 1942 the Soviets had attempted to subvert some of the young Poles who were recruited at that time in the USSR for Polish Army Service and that such might have been the case with Subject.

(3) (JMWAVE Analysis) It is interesting to note that Subject's PRQ and USIA records which stated he was in the RAF from 1939 to 1947 do not agree with his official RAF records which show that he did not enroll in the RAF until 1 July 1943. The RAF records also show that he had enrolled one year earlier (19 June 1942) in the Polish Army Service in the USSR and served in it for a full year before joining the RAF. However, even allowing the year 1942 as his service induction date into the RAF, there is a discrepancy in what he reports in his PRQ (1939) and what the RAF record shows (1942). It is possible that he has falsely reported the date of his induction into the RAF in his PRQ in order to cover up his activities during that period (1939-1942). This was a period of time when great numbers of Polish prisoners of war were shot by the Soviets. It is possible that Subject may have been subjected to RIS recruitment attempts during this period.

d. (Name Change) In the referenced RAF and Polish exile check, it was noted that the Polish exile liaison representative, while searching the record for a Jorge VOLSKY, had found a record for one

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Jerzy VOLSKY (i.e. Jorge VOLSKY) who was born in 1917 and killed in action in 1941 and speculated that Subject might have assumed the name of this man.

(1) In Reference A, Headquarters stated it had made an exhaustive analysis of the allegation that Subject might have taken the name of the Jerzy VOLSKY killed in action but found no indication that would justify that conclusion. In an effort to determine why Subject's name was carried on the RAF rolls as AJBUSZYC instead of VOLSKY, it was surmised by Headquarters that it was "understandable" because of the length of Subject's name. In this regard, it was noted by Headquarters that Subject had listed his full name in his PRQ Part I as Jorge Stakistaw Ajbuszyc VOLSKY Kraislner.

(2) In analyzing the above interpretation by Headquarters, JMWAVE felt that if the RAF were to shorten Subject's name on their records for brevity's sake, they would have been more likely to omit a second or third name rather than his family name of VOLSKY. An investigation was initiated by JMWAVE in March 1964 to attempt to clear up the existing confusion concerning Subject's identity. AMBLEAK-1, a personal friend of Subject, on instructions of his case officer contacted a Mrs. Aurora de QUESADA Miranda, a very close friend of the family of Subject's wife, Mercedes ROVIRA Bertran. Mrs. QUESADA is a resident of the Hotel Terrace Park in Miami, is the wife of David MASNATA Azcue, former official of the Ministry of State of the Republic of Cuba, and had the following pertinent information to offer:

(a) During the Second World War at a session of the Havana Rotary Club it was decided to ask members of the Club who had single daughters to act as pen pals for officers fighting with the Allied armies in Europe. Mr. Jose ROVIRA presented the names of his three single daughters. Only one of these daughters maintained this correspondence (with two officers), one of whom was Subject, a pilot aviator in the RAF.

(b) According to Mrs. QUESADA, Subject's father died in the Second World War and Jorge had joined the RAF. She stated that as far as she could remember, VOLSKY was born in Warsaw, Poland and that the name VOLSKY was that of his mother or of a grandmother and that his true name began with "A" and continued, she believed, with a "w" and a "z".

(c) At the end of World War II, VOLSKY, then in London, phoned his pen pal, Senorita Mercedes ROVIRA, and they became engaged. As it was not possible for VOLSKY to obtain a visa for Cuba, he obtained one for Ecuador and arranged to stop over in Cuba in transit.

(d) Upon VOLSKY's arrival in Cuba, Source's husband, Mr. David MASNATA, by virtue of his connection in the Cuban Ministry of State, was able to arrange permission for VOLSKY to remain in Cuba. Within a year of his residence in Cuba, he married Miss ROVIRA and because of the fact that his name was virtually unpronounceable, he decided to adopt the name of VOLSKY legally, stating that this was the name of his mother or of a grandmother.

e. Station JMWAVE analysis of Subject's background prior to his arrival in Cuba is inconclusive. The following points, however, are worthy of further investigation:

(1) The fact that the name VOLSKY was overtly or semi-overtly assumed by Subject does not totally clear him of suspicion in this respect. It becomes evident that VOLSKY fabricated a name for his father, that of Josef A. VOLSKY, which would fit his own new name. If it is assumed that VOLSKY is not the real name of Subject's father, three possible solutions to this puzzle emerge:

(a) VOLSKY is the name of a grandmother as Subject claims and Subject attributed it to his father to avoid lengthy explanations on forms.

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(b) Subject, AJBUSZYC, took the name of VOLSKY from the dead pilot for personal reasons.

(c) Subject is a communist agent who assumed one or both of the subject names either in an effort to erase a derogatory background or, more likely, to assume a new identity and attempt to confuse the issue.

(2) Still in connection with Subject's true name, VOLSKY deliberately withheld information when he made out his PRQ for JMWAVE in March 1963. The PRQ specifically calls for "name at birth if different from Item 1" (Item 1 being Subject's full name). VOLSKY marked the item as not applicable.

(3) The slight discrepancy in education listed in paragraph 3 b should be checked into.

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(4) On 8 February 1963 Headquarters reported Jorge VOLSKY as probably identical with one Joseph SKULICZ "although this still questionable", (DIR 16243 dated 8 February 1963). There are no Station traces on SKULICZ and further mention of this tentative identification was never made by Headquarters.

(5) Still to be explained by VOLSKY are the circumstances surrounding his imprisonment in Russia and his joining the Polish Army Service there at a time when Soviet intelligence was attempting to subvert those recruits.

4. Background in Cuba Prior to U.S.

a. Family

(1) VOLSKY reports in his PRQ that on 7 August 1948 in Havana he married his present wife, Mercedes ROVIRA Bertran. Immigration and Naturalization Service (I&NS) in Miami has a copy of this marriage certificate on file which confirms the marriage date given above and gives the following information:

(a) The full name of VOLSKY's wife is Mercedes Antonia Juana ROVIRA Bertran, daughter of Jose ROVIRA and Mercedes BERTRAN, natives of Spain.

(b) VOLSKY is listed as Jorge Ajbuszyc VOLSKY, son of Jose and Maria, natives of Poland.

(c) From 1937 to 1938 Mercedes was listed as a student in Santiago de Cuba and from 1938 to 1961 as a housewife in Havana.

(2) The fact that Mercedes ROVIRA says she was a housewife in Havana from 1938 to 1961 does not coincide with the story told above to the effect that during the war years she was the single daughter of Jose ROVIRA in Santiago de Cuba, engaged to Jorge VOLSKY. It is possible that she mistakenly put the year 1938 instead of 1948 on her record. However, that leaves ten years of her life unaccounted for in the Immigration records.

b. Business

(1) Jorge VOLSKY reported in his PRQ that he directed and owned his own business in Cuba from November 1947 to May 1961 when he left for the United States. This business, which he described as a publicity office was named Dekora Studio S.A., P. Gomez 283, Habana, and was subsequently confiscated by the CASTRO Government. VOLSKY also told AMLAME-1 that in addition to his publicity business in Cuba, he had rendered services to the Information Service of the United States Embassy in Habana. The following reports on VOLSKY's business were obtained:

(a) AMOT-119 described VOLSKY's business, DEKORA, as a

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publicity business which engaged mainly in the production and decoration of floats for carnivals. He stated that the ROVIRA family helped him financially to set up this business.

(b) Mrs. QUESADA reported that the ROVIRA family was very wealthy as they were the proprietors in Cuba of the CASTILLO RUM and CINEMA REX enterprises, among others, and that Mr. ROVIRA put VOLSKY to work in a decorating firm which he owned.

(c) Aureliano F. SBRETON, formerly in the advertising billboard business in Cuba, reports that when Studio Dekora was nationalized VOLSKY was working on a large advertising plan for Central America ordered by the Coca Cola bottling plant in Cuba.

c. Contacts and Travel

(1) VOLSKY traveled frequently while in Cuba and amassed an extremely large number of influential contacts. He was a member of the Havana Biltmore Yacht and Country Club and predominately mingled with the upper class professional industrialists and particularly cultivated the friendship of American journalists.

(2) According to his PRQ, VOLSKY traveled to Europe in 1957 on a pleasure trip at his own expense and also had traveled to the United States many times during the years he lived in Cuba. He also listed frequent travel to Jamaica.

d. Politics

(1) During the period before his business was nationalized, VOLSKY is described as a socialist, who had publicly said that the future of the world is socialistic. He was avidly pro-CASTRO and had often denounced the United States for putting up with the BATISTA Government in Cuba which was riddled with graft, (AMOT-119 Report AA-774/17, September 1962).

(2) According to Tad SZULC, see Paragraph 5 below, VOLSKY became disenchanted with the Regime when his business was intervened and he spent the latter part of 1959 and most of 1960 actively supporting anti-CASTRO activities. SZULC amplified this remark by stating he knew of instances of VOLSKY's transporting explosives and hand and shoulder weapons in his private car.

(3) VOLSKY was arrested and imprisoned in La Cabana prison around 20 April 1961 during the Invasion roundup, an event he has made much of ever since and has used to establish counterrevolutionary bona fides. AMBLEAK-1, who was imprisoned during the same period, stated that VOLSKY was held for a short time, a matter of weeks, and probably had been included in this roundup because he was a known MRP member, foreigner, or member of the middle class. According to Tad SZULC, VOLSKY was able to leave Cuba shortly thereafter as he had a valid U.S. visa in his passport. VOLSKY arrived in Miami on 22 May 1961.

5. JMWAVE Knowledge of VOLSKY Relationship with Tad SZULC

a. On 17 September 1962 AMOT-119 presented a report to KUBARK which contained information to the effect that VOLSKY had influence with certain elements of the American press, especially the New York Times and the Washington Post. This influence was derived from Subject's cultivation in Cuba of American journalists, in particular Tad/*SZULC, currently employed as a correspondent for the Washington Bureau of the New York Times. A close relationship exists between SZULC in Washington and VOLSKY in Miami and they are in touch periodically by both telephone and personal visits. VOLSKY is a source of information for SZULC and evidently influences his thinking as is manifested by the transfer of VOLSKY's political philosophy into the principal thesis of a book on Cuba written by SZULC: namely that Cuba should not be attacked by the United States and that the Cuban problem can be solved internally. This book entitled, The

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Cuban Invasion -- The Chronicle of a Disaster, is particularly critical of KUBARK, not limiting itself to a discussion of its failure at Playa Giron, but dealing in detail with many other aspects of KUBARK.

b. As mentioned in paragraph 2.a., Tad SZULC presented to ODACID an operational plan based on VOLSKY's ideas which was subsequently turned over to KUBARK. SZULC was contacted by KUBARK on 6 February 1963 concerning this plan and gave the following information concerning the background of his relationship with VOLSKY, whom he reported as its author.

(1) VOLSKY has been a friend of his for the past three years and he (SZULC) considers him one of the most informed exiles on Cuban internal affairs and stated that he was, in fact, his contact for most of his important information emanating from inside Cuba. He referred to VOLSKY as "our man in Havana" even though he was living in Miami.

(2) SZULC reported that VOLSKY, by virtue of his advertising business, had traveled extensively throughout the provinces of Cuba and had made many friends before said business was intervened. He has been able to keep these internal contacts and passes on information obtained from them to SZULC. Among the most important of his contacts is AMSTRUT-2, a lifelong friend of VOLSKY's sister-in-law (unidentified) who furnishes what SZULC considers vital information by means of this friendship to VOLSKY.

c. In August 1962 SZULC had arranged an interview in Washington for VOLSKY with Richard N. GOODWIN, advisor to former President KENNEDY.

d. In late October 1962 AMBLEAK-1 had reported that VOLSKY called upon him to assist him in rounding up recently arrived refugees who had seen Soviet missiles and troops in Cuba. It was VOLSKY's purpose to have AMBLEAK-1 serve as interpreter for interviews of the refugees by correspondent Tad SZULC.

e. Tad SZULC reported that he had a standing invitation extended since November 1961 to contact directly President Kennedy, Vice President Johnson, or McGeorge Bundy at any time on Cuban matters. His opinions obviously carried weight with the Administration and therefore, his backing of VOLSKY's plan, to the point where he sat in on ODACID/KUBARK meetings concerning it, was probably the primary reason it was adopted so quickly. Thus, VOLSKY and SZULC maintained a mutually profitable relationship, VOLSKY by providing SZULC with up-to-date information obtained through his USIA position and through his contacts in the exile community, and, SZULC, by exerting pressure on KUBARK by means of his "in" with the former Administration and his newspaper audience to promote VOLSKY's ideas.

f. As SZULC could exert his influence and indirectly pressure KUBARK into adopting an operation, so could he apply pressure through his media to run certain details pertaining to it. The following example shows the position KUBARK was maneuvered into by these influences. One of the principals of the subject operation, AMICE-27, whom KUBARK wished to remove from said operation because of his indiscretion and inability to accept control, but who was an informant on all aspects of the operation for VOLSKY and SZULC, had to be handled with kid gloves and offered a juicy alternative position in an effort to appease him as it was felt that he would take his case to SZULC. The time picked by KUBARK to disengage AMICE-27 was one when SZULC was on an extended Latin America trip. AMICE-27 refused the substitute position, delivered an ultimatum which was not accepted by KUBARK, and, as expected, was reported by a teammate to be threatening to take his case to the highest authority through the VOLSKY/SZULC channel. It was JMWAVE's feeling that AMICE-27 understood power and politics to the extent that once he became aware that SZULC would not be available for immediate consultation, he would be willing to reopen his discussions concerning an alternative position for himself with KUBARK. This he did subsequently. The next step taken by JMWAVE to ease this situation was to attempt to assuage VOLSKY who was cold and uncommunicative at first, obviously upset over the dismissal of AMICE-27 and, at the same time, temporarily cut off from his powerful Washington channel. However, this treatment released the

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pressure, diverted a case which might otherwise have been presented to SZULC, and obviated a situation which might otherwise have been difficult and embarrassing for KUBARK.

g. VOLSKY and SZULC were in very frequent contact with each other during the JMWAVE sponsorship of the VOLSKY plan. This fact was ascertained through VOLSKY's comments to a JMWAVE case officer in which he often referred to recent activities of SZULC and through the reactions of SZULC and VOLSKY when any decisions concerning the operation made by Headquarters or JMWAVE were relayed to one member of this partnership without the knowledge of the other. Decisions concerning the operation handed out by Headquarters and JMWAVE had to be given simultaneously to SZULC and VOLSKY in order to avoid misunderstandings which would arise when one would immediately inform the other of same.

h. It is mere speculation to guess whether there is more to this relationship than that mentioned in paragraph 6.e. above. It is interesting to note, however, that on 6 January 1964 in a conversation between AMICE-14 and a JMWAVE case officer concerning language abilities, AMICE-14 remarked that VOLSKY and SZULC always speak together in Polish. When asked if they conversed in Polish so that no one would be able to understand them, AMICE-14 replied that he thought it was just to practice the language. This fact does not agree with VOLSKY's earlier statement to COS, JMWAVE that he preferred not to speak in Polish because he had not used the language for a long time. It seems strange that VOLSKY would refuse to speak his native tongue with COS unless he were afraid that his accent or pronunciation would disclose some element of his background which he did not wish so disclosed.

i. On 20 February 1964, Chief of Station, JMWAVE, had luncheon with Conrad MANLEY, Chief of the Miami Office of USIA. During this luncheon, in a discussion of VOLSKY, MANLEY stated that he was aware that VOLSKY was the unofficial stringer for SZULC of the Times and that his superior in Washington had recently brought this relationship to his attention, asking MANLEY to discourage it. The reason for this was that several newspaper personnel in the Washington area had complained to USIA about the preferential treatment afforded SZULC by his relationship with VOLSKY.

j. The most recent information indicating that the SZULC/VOLSKY relationship continues is a letter written on 23 February by Theodore DRAPER, well known author and political analyst, to Miss Phyllis FREEMAN of the Frederick A. Praeger Publishing Company, (Reference B). In this letter DRAPER recommends that VOLSKY be chosen as the author of a book to be written on Cuba and set up an appointment for him to meet FREEMAN while he was in New York. Reference B also includes a memorandum in which FREEMAN reported that VOLSKY was highly recommended for this job by both Theodore DRAPER and Tad SZULC who rely on him for much of their day to day information on Cuba. She stated that VOLSKY "is now a 'stringer' for the Washington bureau of The Times, which is evidently a special SZULC-engineered deal". AMCARBON-1 reported on 24 May 1964 that VOLSKY receives \$100 a week for his work as a stringer. In regard to VOLSKY's forthcoming book, he has mentioned to AMBLEAK-1 that he expects to have it published in September 1964 under the title of Cuba Today. (Note: In reference B, Phyllis FREEMAN has indicated that VOLSKY claims that he was educated in England and that he had gone to Cuba in 1945, a decidedly different version of his background.)

6. VOLSKY's Knowledge of the Cuban Exile Community

a. VOLSKY Refugee Status and Personal Life in Miami

(1) In a recent conversation with AMLAME-1 VOLSKY stated that he had become an American citizen.

(2) A check of Immigration and Naturalization Service records in Miami shows that VOLSKY is not a citizen of the United States as he claims, but became a permanent resident on 5 February 1963, and that VOLSKY's wife, Mercedes ROVIRA, had petitioned for this status for him.

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(3) AMBLEAK-1 reported that VOLSKY lives with his in-laws, his wife and child in Coral Gables. He is inordinately fond of his child, a boy now twelve years of age, to the point of obsession.

(4) AMBLEAK-1 also reported in July 1963 that VOLSKY had developed an intimate relationship with a female cousin of AMBLEAK-1 in Havana, ~~Martha BRITO Cartaya~~, sister of former JMWAVE asset, ~~Wilfredo BRITO Cartaya~~, 201-283372, ~~Martha BRITO~~ now lives in Miami and continues her intimate relationship with VOLSKY although she is also married with children. Neither she nor VOLSKY is aware that AMBLEAK-1 knows of their liaison. AMBLEAK-1 had learned of this relationship in the following manner: While VOLSKY was still in Cuba he occasionally asked A-1 to try to get letters out for him by diplomatic pouch to Miami and after A-1 arrived in the United States, ~~Martha BRITO~~ frequently asked him to send letters and packages in for her. One day, dissatisfied with the size of a box in which his cousin was sending a sweater to a woman in Cuba, A-1 opened said box and found in the folds of the sweater a torrid love letter from his cousin to VOLSKY. A-1 decided to keep quiet about his knowledge of the relationship and both VOLSKY and ~~BRITO~~ act in his presence as though they hardly know one another. On one occasion ~~BRITO~~ brought up the topic of VOLSKY in a conversation with A-1 and warned him to be cautious in his dealings with VOLSKY. When A-1 attempted to get his cousin to explain her warning, she refused, stating that she felt AMBLEAK-1 should avoid developing too close a relationship with him. A-1 felt that ~~Martha~~ was merely trying to smoke-screen her relationship with VOLSKY.

(5) At a meeting between VOLSKY and a JMWAVE case officer on 25 September 1963, VOLSKY remarked on the pressures and frustrations of life today and suggested that the best way to work off tensions was to follow his lead which was to have frequent extramarital relations with girl friends. The case officer felt that although this remark may have been meant to be facetious, he was inclined to believe the opposite and made it a matter of record for any possible future KUDES investigation of Subject.

b. USIA Employment

(1) When VOLSKY arrived in the United States, he visited his friend and former contact in the U. S. Embassy in Havana, Paul F. BETHEL, who at that time was in charge of the Miami Office of the USIA. BETHEL was sold on VOLSKY's presentation of himself as a counterrevolutionary recently out of prison and an expert on the communist problem and international affairs. BETHEL contracted him to edit a VOA program which was entitled "The Truth Behind the News". JMWAVE traces on BETHEL show the following information:

(a) In 1960 BETHEL who was Press Attache of the U. S. Embassy in Cuba was a suspected informant for the CASTRO Regime. (WH/4/CI dated 23 September 1960). No confirmation of this was ever developed.

(b) BETHEL was employed by JMWAVE for three months, October through December 1961, as a writer-analyst for a detailed analysis of the overt Cuban press. This employment took place shortly after BETHEL had left his job in USIA in a huff as he refused to accept a transfer to Washington where he was to work on a matter related to the Peace Corps. His KUBARK employment was on a trial basis only and was terminated after an assessment by Headquarters in which it was determined that BETHEL's reports contained nothing which was not already available through regular established sources and therefore his high salary, \$1,000.00 per month, was not justified.

(2) When BETHEL resigned his USIA post and began to work for KUBARK, William G. ~~F~~WAGLEY took over his position of Chief of the Miami Office. WAGLEY made VOLSKY responsible for the weekly summary report made to Washington USIA analyzing the Cuban situation.

(3) It is believed that VOLSKY has a clearance only as a Purchase Order Vendor for the USIA which does not clear him for any classified

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information, nor is his status that of an officer of the U. S. Government yet he sat in on USIA meetings and had access to classified material. WAGLEY and VOLSKY had a close relationship in their work and WAGLEY openly reported VOLSKY as his right hand man to the Director of the Voice of America (VOA), Henry LOOMIS.

(4) WAGLEY was transferred to the Washington Office in August 1962 at which time Conrad MANLEY became Chief. VOLSKY continued in his duties and in addition prepared an additional copy of his weekly report for WAGLEY which was sent directly to Washington for him. As of the date of this report, MANLEY remains in charge of the USIA office and VOLSKY is still employed in the same status.

(5) According to Tad SZULC, Major Manuel PINEIRO Losada aka Barba Roja, Chief of the General Directorate of Intelligence, Cuba, was in direct contact with VOLSKY when he, PINEIRO, telephoned him in Miami during the October crisis (October 1962) and stated, in effect that "Fidel CASTRO was angry as he felt the Russians had sold the Cubans down the river".

(6) On 3 May 1963 Manolo de la TORRE, radio announcer and Voice of America newspaperman, reported that the employees of VOA consider VOLSKY as an individual with whom one must be careful as he is suspected of being a communist.

(7) Gabriel QUINTERO, operator of the USIA radio equipment in Miami, reported to AMTAUP-2 in August 1963 that on various occasions he has surprised Jorge VOLSKY listening in on USIA telephone conversation both incoming and outgoing. QUINTERO states that he doesn't know what reason motivates VOLSKY to do this.

(8) AMTAUP-2 reported that on 13 September 1963 he was in the USIA office when Mrs. Miriam NORWEB who is an official in ODACID in Miami arrived there. A-2 was informed that Mrs. NORWEB is a very frequent visitor of VOLSKY and has long interviews with him and keeps him constantly informed about ODACID affairs.

c. VOLSKY's use of USIA for JURE Purposes - The following incidents, related here in chronological order, are reported to substantiate JMWAVE's claims that VOLSKY has used his USIA position for JURE political objectives and in fact might be the power which directly or indirectly determines these objectives.

(1) (General) Among VOLSKY's Cuban contacts is Raul CHIBAS Rivas, 201-248160, a member of the executive committee of JURE, listed as Manolo RAY's right-hand man. This contact originated through the close friendship of VOLSKY's wife with the divorced wife of CHIBAS and, as a result, VOLSKY became closely connected with Manolo's group. According to JMWAVE traces, CHIBAS, the former director of the Havana Military Academy and reportedly an early idol of Fidel CASTRO, defected in 1960. He gave a three hour interview to Tad SZULC in Havana who reported him completely disillusioned with the Cuban Regime. However, CHIBAS had a definite record of Communist Party participation and was suspected by ODENVY of being a CASTRO plant in the United States. (DBA 56037).

(2) JURE Infiltration of KUBARK

(a) When VOLSKY was first in contact with JMWAVE concerning the details of his operation, March 1963, he made a particular point of mentioning that he personally was convinced that none of the operations team participants was presently controlled by any political group. At the same time, he was aware that AMICE-27 was closely connected with JURE and was reporting to him (VOLSKY). Also at that time he himself was frequently being visited in his USIA office by Rogelio CISNEROS Diaz, member of the executive board of JURE.

(b) AMTAUP-2 reported on 30 April 1963 that CISNEROS, at a meeting held in his home, said that Manolo RAY Rivero, National Chief

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of JURE, had issued orders to infiltrate a trusted JURE member into KUBARK in order to learn the details of any plans with regard to Cuba and if possible to use the contacts of Jorge VOLSKY for this since he knew more than ten agents of KUBARK operating in the Miami area who had been coming to him to gather reports emanating from Cuba.

(c) On about 30 March 1963 JURE created an Intelligence Group within its organization whose function was to infiltrate JURE members into the various organizations which operate in Miami, as well as into agencies of the U. S. Government. Jose *AGUIAR Fernandez, 201-736869, was given the job of Chief of this Intelligence Corps. During a meeting between VOLSKY and a JMWAVE case officer on 18 July 1963, VOLSKY, when asked if he had spotted any operational leads which might be of interest to KUBARK, responded with the name Jose AGUIAR and let slip that he was a member of JURE. The case officer felt that VOLSKY had made an error when he mentioned this matter and immediately realized it as the case officer had to ask several times before VOLSKY would repeat the name. Later an AMOT source learned from Antonio *ARIAS Gonzalez, JURE Propaganda Chief, that AGUIAR was making a list of KUBARK agents and their assigned tasks for JURE files and that VOLSKY was helping AGUIAR to do the job.

(d) ✓ Jose *ROIGE, owner of the Camaguey Restaurant in Miami, informed AMTAUP-2 on 3 August 1963 that he had been designated Chief of Intelligence by the National Direction Abroad of JURE. When asked by A-2 what was his most important source of information, he replied Jorge VOLSKY who works for USIA in Miami.

(e) AMICE-27 (VOLSKY informant) on 16 September 1963 at a meeting with a JMWAVE case officer, reported the names of three individuals whom he felt he could recruit for KUBARK. Among those names was that of Raul CHIBAS whom A-27 tried inconspicuously to slip in, making it a point to mention the other names first. The case officer felt that this was another VOLSKY inspired attempt to infiltrate a JURE man into KUBARK.

(3) JURE Propaganda Program (VOLSKY, by virtue of his position in the USIA is not allowed to belong to a political organization. However, he is a member of the executive board of JURE and in charge of orienting all JURE propaganda in the U. S. and in Latin America. This job is held clandestinely by VOLSKY because of his USIA restrictions.)

(a) AMTAUP-2 reported on 30 April 1963 that CISNEROS stated at a JURE meeting that JURE planned to introduce into Cuba thousands of leaflets whose sole purpose was to discredit the American Government. These leaflets were to include such matters as RAY's Manifesto against the U. S. Government and KUBARK.

(b) On 6 June 1963 RAY arrived in Miami from Puerto Rico and went directly to the home of CISNEROS where he called a meeting in which he ordered that no further attacks be made on the U. S. Government as he was to talk to Robert KENNEDY in Washington the next day. He then called VOLSKY and reported these plans and asked him to submit a report to him, the nature of which was unknown to source, AMTAUP-2. RAY also asked VOLSKY to give him information regarding the new propaganda plans of the USIA.

(c) On 27 June 1963 RAY returned to Miami from Washington and went directly to JURE offices where he held a meeting saying he had gained more from his Washington contacts in the last month than he had in the two previous years. He later called VOLSKY and held a conversation with him that lasted over a half hour.

(d) On 18 July 1963 VOLSKY met with a JMWAVE case officer and stated that AMICE-27 had informed him that KUBARK felt that he (VOLSKY) was an informant for Manolo RAY. VOLSKY explained to the case officer that he only saw Manolo RAY in his line of duty as a representative of USIA in the same manner that he makes contact with many of the

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exile leaders. VOLSKY also stated that it was his understanding that RAY and KUBARK had patched up their differences of past years. JMWAVE comment: VOLSKY was aware of RAY's feeling toward KUBARK expressed in the following conversation held between RAY and CISNEROS. RAY said "KUBARK agents are more dangerous than the KENNEDY Administration as the Administration will end but KUBARK agents always stayed and their memory is longer than that of elephants, they never forget or forgive".

(e) On 25 July 1963 AMTAUP-2 reported a conversation between CISNEROS and VOLSKY in which they discussed a propaganda campaign against Batistianos to be launched soon thereafter.

(f) AMOT-119 learned on 1 November 1963 from Max LESNICK Menendez, editor of REPLICA newspaper, that JURE pays for REPLICA's printing and that LESNICK immediately gives a copy to Jorge VOLSKY as soon as it is published. (JMWAVE traces on LESNICK, 201-209258, show that like VOLSKY, he is a Cuban citizen of Polish origin. He has a background that includes association with communist elements and attendance at PSP and Ortodoxo leadership meetings. The purpose of the newspaper, REPLICA, is to counter pro-BATISTA propaganda in the Cuban exile community.) LESNICK told AMTAUP-2 that the Americans are degenerate because they give money to homosexuals such as AMCORE-2 and refuse to help him (LESNICK) and that he would take his case to Harvey SUMM, Department of State Representative in Miami.

(g) On 30 July 1963 Harvey SUMM contacted the Chief of Station, JMWAVE, by telephone in an effort to persuade JMWAVE to sponsor LESNICK's radio program, "Cuba Despierta", taped in Miami and broadcast daily from the Dominican Republic. Mr. SUMM stated that both he and USIA thought that LESNICK had a worthwhile radio program and asked COS if he could insure that LESNICK receive the necessary funds to stay on the air. COS informed Mr. SUMM that JMWAVE had access to a number of radio outlets and if he or USIA had a propaganda theme or basic message they wanted delivered to the Cuban people, KUBARK would be glad to accommodate them if this material were in keeping with the broad policy concepts under which JMWAVE was currently operating. Mr. SUMM stated he was not interested in themes or programs, he was merely interested in finding a sponsor for LESNICK and became irritated when JMWAVE would not comply with his wishes. He indicated that he intended to check further on the matter to determine why KUBARK would not fund LESNICK.

(h) On 4 February 1964 the newspaper PATRIA ran an attack on George VOLSKY whom it identified as George BOSQUE (phonetic), an official of USIA in Miami who at the same time was a member of the JURE executive. It stated that the "little Polack of Cuba Si Yankee No" (meaning LESNICK) received guidance from BOSQUE each week and then took pains to make it appear that Mr. MANLEY rather than BOSQUE had received him. REPLICA struck back at PATRIA in an article which appeared 15 February 1964 saying that they did not receive instructions from USIA although they did solicit material against CASTRO and communism there. The article further berated PATRIA for revealing the names of the director of the USIA office (MANLEY) and the Cuban employee who still has relatives in Cuba (BOSQUE)!

(i) On 8 January 1964 Esteban LAMELAS Maura, a newspaperman in USIA, reported to AMTAUP-2 that VOLSKY urgently requested that LAMELAS take a poll among the arriving Cuban refugees to determine what they think of JURE so that he, in turn, could report the results to Manolo RAY in order to determine whether JURE's propaganda policy should be changed. LAMELAS said that his USIA contract forbade him from becoming involved in such a poll; he informed A-2 that this was not the first time VOLSKY had used USIA for JURE propaganda.

(j) On 27 January 1964 AMTAUP-2 reported that JURE had finished the preparation of necessary plans to send youths to all Latin American universities to lecture concerning KUBARK betrayal of U. S. policy.

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(k) On 5 February 1964 a report was made on the Bay of Pigs Invasion by NBC television program which had been shown the night before. It was noted in this report that Antonio de la CARRERA Betancourt, one of the producers of the program, had come to Miami in August 1963 and attempted to locate persons who were disgusted with KUBARK. Mr. de la CARRERA sought the advice of Manolo RAY and Jorge VOLSKY to draw up the list. Although de la CARRERA posed as a non-political NBC assistant, he is a member of the JURE in New York City.

(l) On 20 February 1964 at a luncheon attended by Mr. Conrad MANLEY and COS, JMWAVE, the latter asked MANLEY if he knew that VOLSKY maintained particularly close contact with JURE and the UR. Mr. MANLEY indicated that he was not aware of this, but that he would attempt to monitor this matter more closely in the future, and, if he developed any information of interest on this matter, he would forward it to JMWAVE on an expeditious basis. At a 1 April 1964 meeting, Harvey SUMM told COS that he agreed that VOLSKY was probably SZULC's penetration of USIA and that he was concerned by the security implications.

(m) AMBLEAK-1 reported he was invited by John BARFIELD of the local State Department office to attend a formal meeting with eight Argentine Deputies visiting Miami. This meeting took place on 28 March 1964 at the Montecarlo Hotel in Miami from 9:30 to 11:30 AM. A-1 attended and noted the presence of several JURE members. The meeting opened with general questioning, and it immediately became apparent that the JURE representatives wanted to monopolize the meeting. When a question was asked concerning the failure of the inside Cubans to support the Invasion, CISNEROS grabbed the floor and filibustered for almost an hour before he could be interrupted by BARFIELD to announce breakfast. A-1 stated that the lengthy intervention by CISNEROS was embarrassing to the other Cubans but they refrained from interrupting in order to show solidarity in front of the visitors. A-1 stated that the presence of AMICE-27 and two USIA members led him to believe that USIA was responsible for the guest list and that therefore Jorge VOLSKY picked the "so called Cuban leaders that attended the meeting".

(4) JURE Operations

(a) On 13 July 1963 CISNEROS approached Esteban LAMELAS Maura and requested information from and concerning Cuba in order to facilitate the infiltration of JURE members into Cuba. When LAMELAS refused to give that type of information, CISNEROS said he would see VOLSKY and get it from him.

(b) On 8 January 1964 AMTAUP-2 reported that VOLSKY called Jose AGUIAR Fernandez to his USIA offices to interview two refugees who were interested in receiving training and returning to Cuba to fight CASTRO. AGUIAR Fernandez told A-2 that VOLSKY spotted refugees for leads and submitted reports on them to JURE. He added that VOLSKY diverts refugees from contacting or reporting any information to KUBARK by informing them that KUBARK is the enemy of the Cubans who want to fight CASTRO.

d. VOLSKY's Relationship with the UR

(1) AMBLEAK-1, member of the UR and an old friend of VOLSKY, reported the following brief resume of their acquaintance. A-1 met VOLSKY at a party in Santiago de Cuba shortly after VOLSKY married (1948) and for reasons A-1 no longer remembers, VOLSKY sought him out socially. In Miami A-1 maintained a casual relationship with VOLSKY during the period January to October 1962. VOLSKY then sought him out to aid Tad SZULC by interpreting for him. During the first half of 1963, VOLSKY began to drop in at A-1's home to talk to him about Cuban exile activities. Apparently these contacts had no clandestine overtones and A-1 in his position as UR liaison officer found nothing remarkable about his visits. In late April 1963 A-1 began working with various members of the UR including AMICE-27, Mario SEIGLIE Montoro, and Eduardo SOTOLONGO Medina on the drafting of a paper on the solution to the liberation of Cuba.

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A-1's purpose in drafting this paper was to raise morale among UR action types and at the same time prepare a war plan which might be used to win KUBARK approval for increased clandestine activity within the UR. A-1 showed this plan to his JMWAVE case officer, who disliked it as he felt it would whip up UR enthusiasm for the development of an active clandestine arm within the UR and that this was not desired. On the night of 1 May 1963 A-1 gathered with AMICE-27 and others at his home to work on the draft again. A-27 took the draft home with him, stating that he just wished to polish it up a little. The following morning A-27 called A-1 and said that he had had a lucky idea and had passed the paper to VOLSKY who was an experienced writer of policy papers and who liked the paper very much. VOLSKY told A-27 that he would get in touch with AMBLEAK-1 directly to discuss the paper. After about a week of phone calls from VOLSKY, A-1 agreed to see him and subsequently met him and received his original paper back. A-1 then began to be plagued by visits from VOLSKY at the UR offices plus phone calls in which VOLSKY entreated A-1 to take the paper to Harvey SUMM.

(2) On 18 July 1963 at a meeting between VOLSKY and a JMWAVE case officer, VOLSKY stated he had recently undertaken to assist the UR in the propaganda field. He said that the UR was starting a new daily radio program over a New York radio station, lasting twenty minutes a day, and, that it will be specifically tailored to attempt to increase the will to resist within Cuba and particularly attempt to reach the higher military echelons. VOLSKY said he had originally written all the VOA broadcasts for over a year after he came to Miami and that he therefore could greatly assist the UR with their new program. Asked whether the UR had anybody to write the program or whether he would actually write it himself, VOLSKY said that the UR has one good man but that he himself expected to have a major hand in editing the program. He said that because of this he was spending a great deal of time at UR Headquarters.

e. (JMWAVE Analysis) VOLSKY is in contact with a large segment of the influential members of the exile community. This is the consequence of his USIA position which affords him the opportunity to make these contacts to solicit information for propaganda purposes. AMING-2 reported that VOLSKY is on a first name basis with many of the leaders of counter-revolutionary groups whom he frequently phones or sees in his office. (AMING-2 does not trust VOLSKY and thinks that he might be a foreign agent although he has no facts upon which to base his opinion.) VOLSKY's main exile community contacts are members of JURE as described in paragraph 6.c., he himself being responsible for all JURE propaganda. By his own admission, he is now close to the top echelon of the UR, responsible for the direction of a UR radio propaganda program. As seen from the foregoing, VOLSKY has maneuvered himself into a remarkably advantageous and influential position regarding U. S. Government and Cuban exile matters. According to VOLSKY his motivation is clear, he claims to be anti-communist, says that he lost substantial investments in Cuba when he had to flee, and that he is single-mindedly interested in overthrowing the CASTRO Government. Although this motivation may be true, VOLSKY is a shrewd individual and his motivation may be considerably more complex. VOLSKY's knowledge of clandestine methods of operation coupled with his Russian prison background and his ingenuity as a middleman in ODYOKE/KUBARK activities make him an excellent candidate for a communist penetration agent. Although there is no evidence linking him to a reporting communist residentura, the possibility exists that he is a singleton, sleeper, or stringer for the RIS. Even if this theory should prove false, VOLSKY is violating his USIA position by reporting to JURE and damaging the U. S. and KUBARK image by his propaganda programs.

7. VOLSKY's Current Knowledge of JMWAVE Operational Activity

a. VOLSKY was in contact with JMWAVE for a period of ten months in 1963 (February through November) directly through COS, JMWAVE; Irving N. PEGGINS; and Stanley R. ZAMKA. AMICE-14 stated that AMICE-27 had divulged the complete operational details of his infiltration ops to VOLSKY and SZULC. It can therefore be assumed that VOLSKY has obtained

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a good picture of KUBARK modus operandi in the field of black infiltration. Because of the high-level objectives of the AMTRUNK operation and AMICE-27's three trips to ZRMETAL for conferences, and the fact that only PBPRIME instructors were used to train A-27, he has met a greater number of KUBARK staffers than most agents. AMICE-27 has been trained in the JMWAVE area in tradecraft, secret writing, OWVL, weapons, maritime reception, map and compass, and survival. He has never been either to ~~ISOLATION~~ or ~~ISOTROPIC~~.

b. The following KUBARK staff employees were in contact with AMICE-27 and are therefore considered known to VOLSKY:

Andrew K. REUTEMAN	as Tad Brickham
Willard R. NAUMAN	as Al Rodemeyer
Stanley R. ZAMKA	as Dr. Manuel Mendez
Irving N. PEGGINS	as Joe Webster
Hobart J. VANDEBORN	as Tom Mesard
Rueben A. HANNULA	as Fred Folsom
Leon C. FLUTEO	as Oscar Guerra
Keith D. WINETT	as Jim (LCFLUTTER Operator)
Paul I. NAPOLILLI	as Paul (LCFLUTTER Operator)
Aubrey R. PARANT	as Randy (Training Instructor)
Alton T. PIRNACK	as Larry (Training Instructor)
Stuart V. KAPRIDNO	as Dewey (Training Instructor)
Fletcher K. THENE	as Harry (Training Instructor)
Andrew S. PARMERS	as Angel Martin (Training Instructor)
Thomas L. DARGUZIS	as Dan (Training Instructor)
Paul V. MENDECINO	as Ted (Training Instructor)
Wilfred B. KNEAFSY	as Pete (Training Instructor)

c. On 19 November 1963 in a meeting with COS, PEGGINS, and AMICE-27, the purpose of which was to offer A-27 a position in the Station's MHAPRON Radio Program, A-27 said that he had written letters to VOLSKY and SZULC informing them that Operation Leonardo had been terminated. A-27 was told that from the security standpoint this was advantageous and not to say anything more about it to these individuals. Nevertheless, A-27 is still in contact with VOLSKY and still informing him of KUBARK activities as shown in the following AMTAUP-2 report: On 8 March 1964 Jose AGUIAR told LAMELAS that VOLSKY still meets very frequently with various KUBARK agents who work in the JMWAVE area. At one of these meetings AMICE-27 informed VOLSKY that AMTAUP-2 was possibly a KUBARK agent.

d. Recent Contact

(1) On 20 February 1964 CISNEROS and VOLSKY left Miami for New York, later to go to ZRMETAL. The two were to contact a KUBARK official there, a contact which VOLSKY had previously arranged.

(2) On 24 March 1964 AMBLEAK-1 stated that VOLSKY phoned him to obtain his opinion as to whether there were to be any major Cuban exile strikes against Cuba during May. A-1 replied that he did not think so, but VOLSKY pressed him saying, "Are you absolutely sure or are you being very discreet?"

e. VOLSKY is in contact with the following active JMWAVE agents:

(1) AMBLEAK-1	(UR and socially) (VOLSKY probably aware of his KUBARK connections)
(2) AMICE-27	(MHAPRON Radio program) (VOLSKY aware of KUBARK connections)
(3) AMING-1	(Exile group leader) (VOLSKY possibly aware his KUBARK connections)

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- (4) AMLAME-1 (Exile group leader)
(Not known whether VOLSKY aware KUBARK connection)
- (5) ~~Eduardo SOTOLONGO Medina~~ (UR)
(VOLSKY probably aware ex-KUBARK connection)
- (6) ~~Mario SEIGLIE Montoro~~ (UR)
(VOLSKY aware KUBARK connection since ~~SEIGLIE~~ under AMICE-27 influence)
- (7) AMTAUP-2 (JURE executive)
(VOLSKY suspects him of being a KUBARK agent)
- (8) AMOT-119 (VOA - daily contact)
(not known whether VOLSKY aware, probably not)

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1. The first part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

2. The second part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.

3. The third part of the document is a list of the names of the persons who were present at the meeting.